THE

POLITICAL SALVATION

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

PRICE TWO SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE

POLITICAL SALVATION

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

BY MEANS ENTIRELY NEW;

RENDERED NECESSARY BY THE URGENCY OF CIRCUMSTANCES:

CONCLUDING WITH

A Remedy for the Depreciated State of the Funds, Highly Intereſting to Stockholders.

England
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BY A GENTLEMAN

INDEPENDENT OF PARTY.

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ADDRESS

TO

THE READER.

FEELING, as I do, that my former ſtatements, reſpecting the diſaſtrous conſequences which would reſult from the proſecution of this unfortunate war, have been in every reſpect ſo completely verified; I hope it will not be deemed an unreaſonable preſumption, on the preſent occaſion, to requeſt an attention, equally unprejudiced by accuſtomed uſage as by exiſting opinion, to the following intereſting ſketch; under the full aſſurance that no improper view prompts my pen; no party biaſſes my judgment; that I am equally the enemy

of

of deſpotiſm and anarchy; and that the peace, welfare, and ſecurity of my country, is the grand motive by which I am actuated in thus addreſſing you.

In vain have I long and anxiouſly waited, in the fruitleſs expectation of gladly witneſſing ſome more able politician promulgate meaſures ſimilar to theſe which I am now about to recommend; and ſingular indeed it appears, that a neceſſity, long ago obvious, and which, where moſt important, I hinted at in a former publication, ſhould ſtill be left for me to point out.

To ſuperiority of ſtyle or manner I diſmiſs all claim. To expreſs my ſentiments with candour, and render my poſitions clear and intelligible, is all of literary accompliſhment I ſuffer myſelf to aim at.

There

There is that, nevertheleſs (more eſpecially in politics), which, in my eſtimation, far ſurpaſſes theſe flowery embelliſhments---a ſucceſsful endeavour to render ourſelves in ſome way uſeful to the community in which we live. In accompliſhing this, and thus becoming the inſtrument of benefiting my fellow-countrymen, I ſhall ever experience an honourable gratification, ſerenely ſatisfactory to

The Public's moſt obedient
And reſpectful humble
Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE POLITICAL SALVATION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

IT is ſomewhat curious to obſerve the changeable influence of public opinion at different periods of time. Men free from intereſt, untouched by paſſion, and at liberty to declare themſelves, will readily join in one voice, to pronounce war the moſt deſtructive engine to the happineſs of nations. A few revolving years paſs on, and the ſame men declare war to be juſt and neceſſary to their well-being, to the ſecurity of their property, the maintenance of their religion, the preſervation of their conſtitution, and all that is dear to them; and this too even while Miniſters of peace are holding out the olive-branch, and good-fellowſhip proffering the congenial cup of harmony.

Monſtrous infatuation! that ſo powerfully works on the ſenſe of perception, as to blind the plaineſt faculties of our knowledge, and cauſe us to become converts to error, in deſpite of our better judgments: To change the flouriſhing ſtate of enviable joy and peace, and voluntarily, without abſolute neceſſity in lieu thereof, preſs to our boſoms the calamitous miſeries of war—Gracious God! what folly! what extravagant madneſs! So contrary, however, is ſuch an act to the reigning principle which actuates the maſs of the people, that it is never their offspring. Here both art and chicanery are wanting to rouſe the latent ſpirit of enmity, and kindle the ſpark into the furious flame of barbarous contention. It is to Rulers and their Miniſters that we muſt look for the ſolution of ſo ſtrange a paradox. Envy or jealouſy at the improvement of a foreign conſtitution; want of confidence in their own, from a knowledge of ſome defects that require remedies, they are not willing to apply; ambitious hopes of aggrandizement, ſometimes revenge of perſonal inſults, piques, or the like: at others, deceitful inſinuations and falſe deluſions of deſigning intereſted men held out to weak

weak Miniſters. Theſe are among the evils which ſpring up to cover a land with bitterneſs and woe.

And yet, little difficult as this is to diſcern upon reflection, ſuch is the ultimate pliability of the public mind, ſeldom thinking for itſelf till too late, that artful ſophiſtry, ſeconded by eloquent addreſs, is never at a loſs for arguments to miſlead and wind round to theſe direful purpoſes, the willing, dependent, obſequious, prudent, good ſort of men, who, fortunately for their governors, are well and contentedly taught to leave politics entirely to them; or when perchance they do not, may indeed, in ſome caſes, be incapable of ſeeing through the deception that is thus occaſionally practiſed upon them.

But whether or not theſe premiſes are applicable to the war we are now waging, ſhall be entirely left to the various opinions of the different readers. In recurring, however, to the paſſing incidents ſince its commencement, it is impoſſible not to contemplate the frailty of human foreſight; for whatever might have been the purpoſes and intents of the numerous allied Courts againſt the liberties of France, although ſuppoſed to have poſſeſſed an exten-

ſive compilation of the firſt abilities of Europe, they have ſo completely failed, that without having recourſe to the old train of reaſoning, they muſt be pronounced in the moſt emphatical terms of a decided verdict—Guilty—Guilty upon our honour.

This judgment is now not on the record of ſurmiſes, doubtful opinions, or any ſpecious falſe colouring, that will bear an argument againſt it; it is tried, judged, and condemned by the firſt unerring maxim of ſound politics, viz. that which ſucceeds is infallibly right, that which does not, as infallibly wrong.

That this leading truth may not be doubted by thoſe who are ignorant of its compoſition, it may be here proper to obſerve, that as the ſcience of government embraces the immediate intereſts of every individual of a realm, in the moſt important inſtances, it requires above all others that profundity of conſideration, as to take in every poſſible miſcarriage that can any way defeat the intent, by placing the ſubject in every light and ſhade which may be produced by a concurrence of all the various circumſtances that can attach to it. Such is the indiſputable grand tribunal which now declares upon the high ground of

experience,

experience, this war againſt the internal regulations of a foreign country, to have been ill-judged and ill-conducted. It alſo pronounces the worn-out objections to the concluſion of peace with the late Convention of France, in exactly the ſame degree frivolous, and totally void of foundation in demonſtrable fact.

Now at laſt indeed, when too late, our Adminiſtration having diſcovered that ſophiſtry will no longer avail, they condeſcend to allow the government of that nation to be capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity; and this principally to proceed from the different conſtruction of their new form, divided into two Councils, and thereby creating a ſort of diſtinction and inequality in their Republic.

Their opinion, or rather their reaſons for that opinion upon this matter, does not however ſeem to be well grounded in ſubſtance; for, on the contrary, when the preſſure of foreign war no longer binds them, theſe two Councils will become jealous of each other, and either on ſome queſtion of prerogative, or other important matter of deliberation, will certainly diſagree in their future deciſions;

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the conſequence of which muſt be, that of dividing their nation into two general parties, equally emulous of maintaining their power, until inveteracy burſts the bounds of prudence, and civil war alone can end their conteſt.

A Republican Conſtitution ſhould be completely democratic; its legiſlative body conſiſt of one ſingle eſtate only; and the manner of election ſuch as to be in the happy conſtancy of beneficial uniſon with the majority of the people. But in whatever manner choſen, in its ſittings it ſhould be ſimilar to the Houſe of Commons of Great-Britain, with the ſingle exception of ineligibility, until the full attainment of thirty-five years of age; it ſhould alſo be ſubject in every reſpect to the ſame identical internal forms and regulations, experience having proved theſe in particular to be properly adequate to the maintenance of the moſt dignified and reſpectable order; an acquirement in the utmoſt degree indiſpenſible in a deliberative aſſembly of ſuch high conſequence.

The three ſeparate readings upon every queſtion gives ſanction and effect to the debates, by affording time for ample deliberate reflection

reflection upon all the various ſubjects that preſent themſelves to diſcuſſion, and has an admirable iſſue in the completion of a perfect ſyſtem.

Had the former Convention of France been thus conſtituted, and had it been alſo well connected into one ſolid efficacious body, by a univerſality of repreſentation, at the ſame inſtant legiſlating in one grand capacity for the whole nation, and promulging univerſal laws binding upon the whole people, by this means affording a promptitude and rapidity in the direction of the entire united ſtrength and force of their Republic; this would certainly have proved for France a better and more durable conſtitution, and of courſe more capable of maintaining all relations whatever, than the two Councils ſhe has now adopted. For any two eſtates, under all poſſible regulations, cannot in the nature of things combine the eſſence of good government, unleſs they be not only equally balanced in themſelves, but have likewiſe ſuperadded another alſo of equal proportioned weight.

Hence it appears that a well-conſtructed government muſt conſiſt either of one ſingly, or of three ſeparate independent eſtates, capable

pable of maintaining the ſupremacy by the combination of their balancing power.

The pure original intended Conſtitution of Great-Britain, as fixed at the Revolution, is of this nature.

The American would alſo be ſo, was it not that each ſtate is too ſeparate and diſtinct. One general law ſhould govern one nation, and proceed from one head. A multiplicity of local laws produce endleſs confuſion, and different juriſdictions inſufficiently combined generate diſſention. Now as what is underſtood by the maintenance of the relations of peace and amity, is in fact only the maintenance of internal order in the country alluded to, it plainly appears that the Convention of France was, or might have been, equally if not preferably adapted thereunto, as the preſent Councils of Elders and Youngers.

The truth, however, is, that the aſſertion in queſtion, under the circumſtances in which it was made, was neither more nor leſs than a mere farce. Can any man poſſeſſed of the ſmalleſt acquaintance with the human mind ſuppoſe that, however changeable the French might be under the grand ſtruggle for liberty, reſpecting either their form of government or

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their Executive Miniſters, that the whole body politic could be inſenſible to the benefits they muſt derive in the acquirement and permanence of their new eſtabliſhment, by a peace with this powerful kingdom? Can it be ſuppoſed that, whoever might have held the reins there, they would have been inſenſible of ſo obvious a neceſſity to their immediate ſecurity? Certainly not. There was not a Frenchman, of what party ſoever he might be, who could have ſucceeded to the direction of affairs, that would have made himſelf ſo odious to his country, ſo weak and contemptible in the eyes of Europe, as to have plunged France into a freſh war with Great-Britain, merely becauſe his predeceſſors of an oppoſite party concluded the peace.

In ſhort, the imagination of a circumſtance ſo utterly extraneous and impoſſible, was and is abſolutely ridiculous to a degree of no ſmall contempt. To weigh the wiſdom of nations in ſo prejudiced a ſcale is unjuſt, and to eſtimate our ſuperiority in honour, prudence, and perſpicuity, is an act both of meanneſs and folly, which it is very much to be apprehended will denounce to the world

thoſe with whom it originated, as characters very unfit to take the lead in this kingdom.

As a further and complete proof of the truth of this reaſoning, only look to the peace which France has already concluded with thoſe Powers who in the outſet of the war were our allies, and ſee if a diſpoſition appears to break the treaties: no ſuch thing. It muſt therefore be readily conceded, that few men can now be found ſo hardy as to maintain that a mere change of Miniſters or party in France would, from the commencement of the war to the preſent hour, have cauſed any ſuch effect whatever, more particularly againſt ſo formidable and awful a power as that of theſe realms, had it ſo happened that good fortune had bleſſed our ſtars at any part of that period with the happy goal of peace.

But to return to the conduct of the war. As a general condemnation, without ſpecifying particulars, is never convincing, it may be requiſite to ſtate one or two heads touching the operations entered upon to annoy the enemy; for as to the ſource and origin of the conflict, that is too well underſtood either to leave a doubt or require further comment againſt it.

One

One of the moſt obvious faults, and the leaſt noticed, although of perhaps the greateſt conſequence from the firſt to the laſt, was that of not ſending a powerful expedition to the Weſt-Indies in the very outſet of the war; when it is well known ſuch a force would have rivetted to us the whole and entire poſſeſſion of our enemy's property and territory in thoſe valuable iſlands: ſuch an expedition muſt then inevitably have ſucceeded to our moſt ſanguine wiſhes. There was neither army nor navy there of any conſequence to oppoſe us, and our fleets could have prevented all ſuccours towards their relief. Had we therefore purſued this meaſure during this fair opportunity, the advantages that muſt have reſulted therefrom would have been indeed incalculable: it would both have ſhortened the general conteſt, at the ſame time that it muſt have placed the ſtaff ſo completely in our own hands, that we might then have abſolutely commanded not only an honourable but a permanent and glorious peace. The common excuſe, however, on this ſubject is, that we could not fit out an expedition ſooner than that which did ſail; but this evaſion is certainly not admiſſible.

For if this country cannot by the ordinary means equip and diſpatch to any quarter of the world twenty or five-and-twenty thouſand military within ſix or nine months from a declaration of war, extraordinary means ſhould be uſed to accompliſh it if neceſſary, otherwiſe the efforts, menaces, and enmity of Great-Britain are alike puny, imbecile, and contemptible. This omiſſion in the firſt inſtance, however, quickly loſt us the favourable opportunity. The French increaſed their force, and difficulties afterwards multiplied in great variety. We have nevertheleſs, it is true, ſince ſucceeded in part, by encountering all theſe new obſtacles at a tenfold expence, inſomuch that the coſt and the advantage are by many thought to be nearly upon a par. Indeed of this opinion one of our moſt celebrated characters in political knowledge, a noble and experienced Marquis, ſeems rather to profeſs himſelf. It is with great deference, therefore, to this firſt-rate information that the conqueſt of the French Weſt-Indies is conſidered as an acquirement of immenſe general benefit, in various points of view: firſt, in the trade between them, and us next, in the manufactory of the raw materials;

terials; thirdly, in the exportation towards the ſupply of all Europe with their productions, both raw and manufactured; fourthly, an encreaſed nurſery and employ for our ſeamen; and fifthly, and moſt materially, the deprivation of one and all theſe advantages to France. For there the grand queſtion hinges. If we poſſeſs them not, the French will; by which means our ſuperiority at ſea would be loſt, and they muſt then ride triumphant on the general wreck of our commerce, and our total extinction as an independent kingdom.

By ſo much the greater then the value, by ſo much the greater has been the ſurpriſing omiſſion of ſeizing the plain opportunity that preſented itſelf of becoming maſters of this prodigious ſource of revenue and ſtrength; for however roundly it may be aſſerted, it can never be credited, nor will ever be admitted, that we were incapable of ſending out a ſufficient armament in time to complete the conqueſt by a coup de main.

Another ſtriking fault in the proſecution of the war, has been a total want of energy in every undertaking that we entered upon. Whether we ſent troops to Holland, to Germany, or to France, there was the ſame

weakneſs

weakneſs and inefficacy manifeſt throughout. They either went abroad by driblets, or their full complements were equally inadequate to the taſk they had to perform. They were ſent only to incur expence, ignominy, and defeat to this kingdom. And while no troops on earth could ſurpaſs their diſcipline, act with greater alacrity, manifeſt a more noble ſpirit and undaunted courage; yet were the projects to accompliſh neither more nor leſs than the exact exemplification of Don Quixote and the windmills: for what other could be expected from the utmoſt poſſible exertion and conflicts of ſuch a comparative handful of men.

If it was at all neceſſary to undertake offenſive military operations upon the Continent, of which there are conſiderable doubts, they ſhould at leaſt have been concentered, powerful, and equal to the object. The difference between ſucceeding in one, and being defeated in many, in a war like this, would ſurpaſs human belief. Such conduct might not improbably have changed the whole face of hoſtility, and turned the fate of abject ſubmiſſion into the exulting dictating conqueror.

Again when we look at the enormous expence that has been incurred, our ſurpriſe encreaſes beyond conception. Let any man put the queſtion to himſelf, What expeditions have we undertaken, or what operations purſued, that could poſſibly incur ſo prodigious a coſt? One hundred and fifty millions! Good God! for what? It really ſeems incredible. Not one ſingle armament of any thing like adequate conſideration, either in number, force, or diſtance, have we diſpatched from our ports, excepting that only which was deſtined for the Weſt Indies; which, from being fitted out one or two years too late, together with contrary winds and ſtorms, was rendered, in point of ſervice, very far ſhort of what might have been otherwiſe expected. In this inſtance, it is true, there was the appearance of a conſiderable force collected and tranſported; but this is the only one that could be called a powerful armament, diſpatched, ſo as to act together with any hopeful effect at all.

Expeditions of from two to ſix thouſand men, ſent at different times, almoſt imperceptibly, merely acroſs the Channel, has been the utmoſt of our mighty projects. Is it not

not then aſtoniſhing how we can have run up this immenſe ſum of debt? Be it as it may, it affords a moſt cheerleſs proſpect, and muſt prove a very millſtone round our necks, which, if not quickly and judiciouſly taken off or relieved, muſt infallibly ſink us to the bottom in hopeleſs deſpair; and for which fearful reaſon, this part of the ſubject will preſently form one of the principal aims in this ſummary diſcuſſion.

Theſe are the heads of chief complaint in the method of diſplaying and uſing the immenſe power and vigour of which this kingdom is moſt certainly capable. And as Miniſters carried all their points in Parliament with a high hand and great majorities, there could not have been any rational mode of annoyance which they might not alſo have carried through with equal eaſe. All blame, therefore, where blame there is, certainly reſts entirely with them; for, in fact, they had nothing, with us, but mere words oppoſed to them in any ſcheme whatever they might have choſen to undertake. They had entirely their own way. Every plan, every motion they took care ſhould be their own act and deed: and this will hereafter render either

either palliation or excuſe a matter of no inconſiderable difficulty.

But as it is determined that what is now a very uncommon and rare principle ſhall actually form the characteriſtic of this Treatiſe, that is—decided truth, and ſtrict impartiality; conſequently, whatever ſhall appear to be reaſonably objectionable, on this ſurvey of the conduct and ſituation of the kingdom, ſhall be fairly and openly ſtated, let it proceed from what quarter it may.

Notwithſtanding, therefore, that Adminiſtration have been, in the preceding inſtances, certainly blameworthy, there are ſome of their meaſures, nevertheleſs, for which they are condemned without either mercy or juſtice. Such as, for inſtance, "their conduct reſpecting the preſent coercion of Ireland," and "the Acts which reſtrain the numerous meetings of the Correſponding Society." When men openly diſobey the laws of their country, and ſet at defiance the conſtituted authorities with flagrant ill intention, it is ſurely high time to counteract them by vigorous deciſive exertions, until complete order may be ſecurely reſtored. When this

is done, then it is that the cauſe ſhould be inveſtigated.

In oppoſing the religious claims of the United Iriſhmen, certainly Miniſters do no more than their duty urges. The demands of Ireland go at once either to let in general toleration, or to create a Roman Catholic ſupremacy. For God's ſake where is the man who can lay his hand upon his heart, and profeſs himſelf ignorant that neither the one nor the other are the Conſtitution of theſe realms? or who is he that is abſurd enough to hazard the belief, that toleration eſtabliſhed there, a bloody and deſperate ſtruggle would not be made for it in England alſo. Such claims indeed can no more be admitted in that kingdom than the Teſt Act can be repealed with us, without ſo materially altering the Conſtitution of this country, as perfectly to unhinge the regular order of our ſyſtem; an experiment much too dangerous to be ventured upon by thoſe who wiſh to prevent the inroads of anarchy: for no ſuch total change, either in this or any other reſpect, can poſſibly take place without in ſome meaſure producing that effect. To reform and renovate the Conſtitution will preſerve, increaſe,

increaſe, and inſure the continuence of order. To change the Conſtitution, muſt ſooner or later unavoidably produce the contrary, and thus ſupplant the decreaſed enjoyments that remain to us by a reign of bloodſhed and confuſion in much the greater likelihood for years to come. In this view civil war preſents itſelf to us with all its horrid deformities and aggravated miſeries, which one would ſuppoſe fully ſufficient to deter every reaſonable being from courting any principle that muſt ſtrike ſo deeply at the root of our eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of government, as the claims under diſcuſſion moſt certainly do.

A Roman Catholic ſuperiority in Ireland, and a Proteſtant in Great Britain, are oppoſites that can never blend in harmony; and more than that, they poſitively cannot exiſt together: for as wide as pole and pole aſunder is ſuch a chimera from either preſent or future advantage equally to either kingdom.

It is therefore not more with regret than ſurpriſe that ſo reſpectable an aſſemblage of perſons of rank, fortune, and education as that of the Whig Club of London ſhould, in their late meetings, ſeemingly give their abſolute approbation and countenance to the unreaſon-

unreaſonable boiſterous preſent confederates of Ireland. And very much indeed is it to be wiſhed, that this Club, which has always been held as diſtinguiſhed in character, and high in honour, as famed for its conſtitutional principles, may conſider in time the conſequences which muſt attach to ſuch reſpectable ſupport, and that they will take an early opportunity of correcting their undoubted error, which otherwiſe cannot but afford plentiful obnoxious nutriment to ſimilar ſeeds already ſufficiently ſown with us.

A well-adapted eſtabliſhed church upon an enlightened ſyſtem not only very much aſſiſts towards the maintenance of order, by promoting and furthering, in the moſt eſſential degree, a reverential awe and ſubmiſſion to all national ſalutary regulations, but it certainly does alſo greatly tend to ward off thoſe ſtrange ſuperſtitious inconſiſtencies, thoſe conceits of witchcraft, thoſe pernicious cuſtoms extending even to human ſacrifices, thoſe tenets of pretended conſcience counteracting the moſt requiſite laws of a State, which general toleration, or, in other words, religion run wild, will, in the courſe of time, aſſured-

ly

ly produce. Look round the world, and obſerve the ſtrange religious fantaſies that exiſt. Obſerve alſo their powerful effect upon the manners, cuſtoms, life, vigour, and political power of any people, and you cannot but ſee the importance of adhering to a ſettled ſyſtem of experienced benefit. But, in ſhort, excluſive of theſe conſiderations, general toleration is not poſitively the Conſtitution of this country, and of courſe the reverſing that Conſtitution muſt produce confuſion and anarchy.

Whatever actual wrongs, however, the people of Ireland really ſuffer, in the name of God let them be redreſſed; but ſtand firm as the pillar of Hercules againſt every unconſtitutional attack, that may be either lurking in embryo, or openly avowed.

As to the Correſponding Society, while the ſupporters of it are ſo indiſcreet as to eſtabliſh themſelves upon the extravagant, inadmiſſible, democratic principle of univerſal ſuffrage and annual Parliaments, thus conſidering only the advancement and ſuperiority of the loweſt orders of the people, at the expence of deſtroying every ſpur to induſtry, and rivetting in its place rapine and confuſion; while they ſtill more indiſcreetly manifeſt

nifeſt to the world their cloven foot, in addreſſing each other by the title of citizen; and while they thus dam up every opening, and obſtinately continue to fix this impenetrable bar to entering upon any reform at all; it is in fact to their abſurd demand and raſh language the country in general muſt look for the evil conſequences that have already reſulted from their imprudence; for as their tenets, addreſs, and political ſpeeches, caſt at leaſt a well-warranted ſuſpicion upon their intentions, it is not of Adminiſtration, which is under the abſolute neceſſity of ſecuring the peace and quiet of the kingdom by the timely checking of this Society, but of theſe unreaſonable people, that the generality of the nation muſt complain at being obligated to ſubmit to acts of the legiſlature, grievous in their general operation, but highly neceſſary on the inſtant to ward off a ſtill greater evil, and to maintain order even by an unuſual ſtretch of prerogative.

Complain then of this ſtretch of prerogative, but complain firſt of the dangerous principles, of the revolutionary titles, and ſuſpicious appearances that emphatically mark the conduct of this Society as the grand inimical

mical cauſe; and we ſhall act like rational beings.

The denomination of Citizen in particular, by which their members addreſs each other, audibly publiſhes to the world that nothing ſhort of a Republican Government can or will ſatisfy them; and every man knows that ſuch a ſyſtem cannot be eſtabliſhed here but through a torrent of blood deſolating every corner of the country for a long ſeries of many diſaſtrous years. And all men too who know any thing of politics, muſt alſo know that annual Parliaments and univerſal ſuffrage can never, in the common nature of things, be eſtabliſhed in this kingdom otherwiſe than by abſolute rebellion.

Is it not, therefore, rather inconſiſtent with the true patriot to manifeſt an injurious falſe compaſſion for ſuch characters, who may be under either proſecution or puniſhment, until a general change to rational claims conſiſtent with reform takes place in their Society? Indeed, it is principally to the panic for the ſecurity of property, occaſioned by the principles of theſe miſled people, that we may attribute the ill ſucceſs of the arguments which have been ſo pointedly urged againſt

againſt this war. To this very cauſe too is to be attributed the great majorities and ſmall minorities in Parliament. And however weak and impotent the Society may be, and are in fact, as to any conſequential reſources of becoming dangerous, yet a combination of foreign and internal circumſtances have occurred to render their abſurd extravagance capable of working this effect. Pity, therefore, towards ſuch conduct ſeems ſtrangely miſplaced, particularly as it originates with thoſe who are the oſtenſible ſufferers—the leaders of Oppoſition. If men will obſtinately perſiſt in crimes againſt the State, it is not only fit, but certainly neceſſary, they ſhould receive the pains and penalties attached to their conduct, provided it is done in a legal way.

And now one point, material to the future ſafety and internal peace of the kingdom, is coming under diſcuſſion.

The meaſures which Adminiſtration ſhould have reſorted to, in order to prevent any miſchief ariſing from all artful deſigning men, who, more for the means of ſupport and getting a ſorry livelihood, than from any other motive, miſlead the Correſponding Society, are

are conſiderably different from thoſe which have been purſued.

In the firſt place, an attention ſhould be unceaſingly fixed upon all Lecturing and Debating Societies, upon all itinerant preachers mixing miſchievous politics with their religion, as well as upon all ſeditious writings. Theſe are the grand fountains of evil; and however abſurd the principles and doctrines that iſſue thence to perſons of any information, if they are ſufficient to pollute and alienate the minds of the lower order of the people from the Conſtitution of their country, they become objects of ſerious importance.

Indeed thouſands and, in the courſe of time, tens of thouſands go hence, carrying general contamination with them, tending to deſtroy that neceſſary ſubordination to fortune, rank, and education, which compoſes the acknowledged links in the great chain of ſocial happineſs. Thoſe who were before content and happy in their ſtations and employments, become reſtleſs and diſſatisfied, and only wait the opportunity of tumult to become riotous and criminally diſaffected.

Hence it appears that the means thorough-

ly to eradicate this growing evil becomes of no ſmall materiality. The method which our Adminiſtration thought wiſe to follow, was to let theſe men go on till they committed ſome act of treaſon, and then to aim at their lives, that the career of their confederates might be ſtopped by the terror of example.

This, inſtead of curing, abſolutely has, and will, while continued, increaſe the diſorder. The difficulty of proving an act of treaſon upon men who are cautious, and upon their guard, is very great; and infinite is the miſchief they are capable of doing before this happens. Sometimes too what may be ſuppoſed or ſtated to be treaſon may not amount to that.

The minds of a Jury are always alert on the ſcore of conſcience where life is at ſtake. They become lenient, and even, where there is cauſe, will frequently not condemn: and the more they perceive an inveteracy and ſtrong endeavours on the part of the proſecution, the oftener that will happen.

Every acquittal of a priſoner in this caſe is, at one and the ſame time, a wound in the ſide of Government, and a triumph to the

diſaffected

diſaffected party that evidently encourages them to proceed. Hence it was that the meetings of the Correſponding Society became ſo numerous, that the open fields were appointed as the rendezvous. From ſuch a frequent aſſemblage of near one hundred thouſand perſons of many deſcriptions, but chiefly of the loweſt order, what was to be expected? The whole kingdom grew quickly into a ſtate of alarm. A little longer continuance, and a new ſpark was only wanting to the fiery combuſtible to ſpread the devouring flame of active revolution. In ſuch a ſtate what was to be done? All the prior conſtituted legal means were then far too tedious, and of no avail: they were inadequate to this emergency. The ſtorm would burſt long, very long, before their effect could poſſibly be felt. In ſhort, nothing was left but a meaſure applicable to the moment. Nor does it appear that any more effective or more lenient than that had recourſe to (the Sedition Bills), could have been deviſed, ſo as to anſwer the full and then highly requiſite purpoſe of maintaining the public order: and ſo far, and ſo far only, that is, upon the ſcore of preſſing, urgent and imme-

diate neceſſity, theſe acts certainly became juſtifiable.

But notwithſtanding, although it is admitted that neceſſity then had no law, yet ſtill that neceſſity might and ſhould have been avoided.

Inſtead of ſuffering theſe wild politicians to go on in their impracticable purſuits till they committed acts of treaſon, or ſuppoſed treaſon, before which they would and did contaminate their principles to thouſands, ſo that infinitude of unſeen miſchief was done long ere the attempt to puniſh;—inſtead of this the following plan ſhould have been adopted, and is ſtill recommended to be put in practice. It is likewiſe conceived our conſtitutional laws were fully adequate thereto; but if not, might ſatisfactorily have been quickly rendered ſo. Sedition, as it actually does in fact comprehend a moſt extenſive field of action, and takes in an infinite variety in the modes of applying itſelf, ſo its definition ſhould have been exactly correſponding, and preciſely calculated to follow the evil into all its intricate windings and labyrinths. This would have been effected in its fulleſt extent by well and diſtinctly defining and declaring

claring ſedition to be a wilful and intentional attempt, either by word or deed, either directly or indirectly, to alienate or diſaffect the mind of one or more perſons from the eſtabliſhed Conſtitution of the kingdom. This material point ſo clearly aſcertained, and a well-proportioned puniſhment of fine in particular, impriſonment or tranſportation, according to the degree of criminality, but ſhort of the forfeiture of life, attached to it; the legiſlative function would here ſtand diſcharged, and all that then remained towards the full attainment of the purpoſe, would be merely a proper attention in the executive to the great ſources of ſedition before mentioned, and the immediate application of the law.

Thus either ſpeech, writing, or deed, having the tendency of ſedition, that is to ſay, being actually ſeditious according to the preceding definition, ſhould unceaſingly be proſecuted, not merely in one or two inſtances, but repeatedly with a perſeverance of determinate reſolve. And this is the moſt direct and, indeed, the only effectual way to quell and thoroughly eradicate all apprehenſion of diſturbance

Every

Every man is naturally attentive to his own intereſt; and when honour and character is added to the call, the invitation becomes ſtill more powerful. This meaſure would touch the Society on that ſcore with the completeſt efficacy. The repetition of the proſecutions would ſoon affect their pockets, and the diſgrace of conviction reflect in example a preventative ſufficiently diſcouraging. Theſe proſecutions too would be eaſily proved, and the Jury, ſatisfied that the pains and penalties were lenient in compariſon with the enormity of the offence, would alſo condemn without heſitation, when convinced of the evil intention; and thus the great object muſt infallibly be ſecured without either infringement on the rights of the people, or deviation from the Conſtitution of the realm.

By this means too lectures on Roman Hiſtory, or any other matter obviouſly and plainly alluding to the preſent, paſt, or future circumſtances of this kingdom, as alſo Debating Societies (ſhould any ſuch there be), profeſſing, without ſincerity, to admit of no ſuch political alluſions, together with itinerant orators or preachers, and indeed all others, of whatever deſcription,

deſcription, ſeditiouſly offending, would, in the moſt effectual manner, come immediately under the beneficial reſtraint of this well-adapted law, inſomuch that neither windings nor labyrinths, quirks nor quibbles would cauſe an eſcape from the laſh, or could, in any ſhape, avail towards its evaſion. So that very ſhortly a total ſtop would be entirely put to the propagation of inflammatory principles, and a peaceable, quiet, and happy completion of liberty without licentiouſneſs, in connection with good order and good government, be thus eaſily obtained, and permanently eſtabliſhed.

Neither could any cauſe of complaint be founded in reaſon againſt this propoſal; becauſe the whole inſtance is plainly profeſſed to depend upon the wilful evil intention of the party proſecuted being made ſubſtantially manifeſt to the Court and Jury; who, if innocent, in that reſpect will cheerfully and readily acquit; and if not, every honeſt man muſt rejoice that a lenient puniſhment, ſo highly merited, is juſtly inflicted for the public benefit.

All, however, being apparently quiet here at preſent, ſome may perhaps think this advice

vice ſuperfluous and unneceſſary; but a candid appeal is made to thoſe who are well acquainted and informed upon the ſubject, whether there is not even now manifeſted throughout the country a pretty evident inclination to inſubordination; and whether, upon the concluſion of the war, and diſbanding the troops, there will not be a conſiderable degree of attention, on the part of the conſtituted authorities, requiſite to curb and awe equally the licentious profligate marauders, as the crafty ſeditious politicians, who then expect to reign paramount in the zenith of their revolutionary proweſs.

Far be it, notwithſtanding, from the utmoſt extent of theſe obſervations, either to curtail or infringe upon the eſtabliſhed rights and privileges of the people. On the contrary, this plan of proceeding would have abſolutely rendered the Sedition Bills, that were petitioned againſt, totally needleſs; as it would have nipped the cauſe in the bud, and have thus proved itſelf the true conſtitutional antidote to diſorder. Neither is it meant by any means to reſtrain reaſonable and proper endeavours to reform any part of our ſyſtem, that needs it; but merely to touch thoſe only

who

who, under that or any other maſk, plainly and manifeſtly expoſe the deformity of their ſeditious intentions.

Legal and well adapted means of maintaining the regular order of the people, by a method at once conſtitutional, mild, and unobjectionable, being thus pointed out, and it is hoped to general ſatisfaction; the next object that preſents itſelf, is that of acquiring the confidence of the nation, and reſtoring the general good opinion towards the original eſtabliſhed government of the kingdom. And this, thank God, as the ground work of the Conſtitution is ſolid, cannot ſurely be a taſk of that enormous difficulty as to prevent the attempt. To reviſe, to correct, to renovate, is all that is needful.

It has been already obſerved, that foreign war ſeldom, if ever, originates with the maſs of the people. A true repreſentation, therefore, in our Houſe of Commons, uninfluenced by the power of the Crown, and ſpeaking their honeſt voice, will, for the moſt part, ſet its face againſt this curſe of mankind.

Various, certainly, are likewiſe the benefits which ariſe from a juſt equipoiſe of this part of our Legiſlature, in its pure and uncorrupt-

ed ſtate; and therefore do the people certainly demand a reform of Parliament. The plain object, merely to detach all influence from its deliberations, and to ſhorten the duration of its preſent term.

It ſeems very ſtrange that on a point ſo clear, and apparently eaſy, ſuch a diſcord of opinion ſhould reign, as hitherto to prevent the general adoption of a ſpecific plan.

That of the Society called the Friends of the People, to veſt the choice of Repreſentatives in houſholders, is really not well calculated for the purpoſe, and for theſe reaſons:

Firſt, That a man having property either in a city, town, or county, is, by this means, deprived of the political ſtewardſhip of it, and is further obliged to truſt that which ſo nearly concerns him, to others not immediately intereſted; nay, perhaps, even to thoſe very perſons who may be inimical to the ſecurity of all property. In the next place, it would increaſe the number of voters ſo much, particularly in large cities, as to render elections ſo extremely boiſterous, as in times when party runs high, to create a turbulent, riotous, dangerous flame throughout the kingdom.

dom. And, laſtly, it would cauſe much more of change in the Conſtitution, than by any means is neceſſary for the attainment of the ſtated objects.

As to the Correſponding Society, they have the goodneſs to conſider only themſelves, in their plan of univerſal ſuffrages and annual Parliaments; they forget that every order of a community are alike to derive equal benefit by a reform. The lower, who infinitely out number the ſuperior orders, muſt, by univerſal votes for Members of Parliament, derive the unlimitted power of cauſing them to frame whatever laws their will might dictate.

Property would then entirely loſe all reſpect, and the ignorant and illiterate would become maſters. Yet poor there ſtill muſt be, and a majority they will ever conſtitute. Wherefore, upon the ſame principle, the then maſters would of courſe be handed out by theſe their ſucceſſors, and ſo on *ad infinitum*, until all ſecurity of property, the only ſpur to induſtry, the wealth of nations, muſt be entirely loſt. What muſt follow, every man's imagination is equal to deſcribe.

Again, if merely the election for the Verdurerſhip of the Foreſt of Waltham, veſted in freeholders, would have created an alarm and diſturbance to the county of Eſſex, had the late conteſt been perſiſted in, what, in the name of God, muſt be that for Member for the county, if every inhabitant whether rich, middling, ragged, or tattered, were to be brought forth upon the occaſion? In ſhort, every candidate in this way muſt bring a whole army into the field, and to blows they would certainly go. This furious flame too, once in every ſucceeding year! Prepoſterous! And with our Conſtitution impracticable and impoſſible. But even was it not ſo, this plan would, in the end, produce neither more nor leſs than the worſt of all, a perpetual Parliament. So it is that this Society, in ſeeking to obtain the whole in their own favour, do, by extremes, entirely defeat their own ends; and what is ſtill worſe, this bar to reform which they ſet up, by alarming thoſe who are of an apprehenſive diſpoſition, abominably prevents the whole community from even entering upon the moderate neceſſary benefit of mere renovation, and which indeed, in fact, is all that is wanting.

Does

Does it not appear moſt ſtrange then, that theſe people cannot ſee, that if juſt and moderate principles of reform was to originate as it ſhould do with them, that is to ſay with the inferior claſs, all apprehenſion being thus done away, their then purpoſes, inſtead of meeting repulſion, as at preſent, would in much the greater probability receive the encouragement and furtherance of every deſcription of the community in general; by which the attainment of the grand object muſt conſequently become infallible?

This queſtion cannot be taken in any other than the affirmative, particularly as this advantage has been pointed out to them; and ſtill they remain blind to their own intereſt.

But as this Correſponding Society, however numerous, would be rendered completely harmleſs and inoffenſive in deſpite of their utmoſt efforts to the contrary, by the plan hereinbefore recommended for this purpoſe; and as its adoption muſt of courſe eradicate all apprehenſion of the kind, it is hoped we may ſtill look forward to that ſort of reform, which, inſtead of creating confuſion, muſt, at the ſame time that it renders every requiſite benefit to the people, alſo cauſe the complicated

cated work of Government to go on more ſmoothly, cordially, and effectively than at preſent.

To expect Adminiſtration, however, voluntarily to enter upon any thing like an effectual reform, without being ſtrongly preſſed to it, would be vain indeed. Who then is to take up this matter? Where is it to proceed from, or who ſhould it proceed from? Theſe are queſtions which ſeem to be entirely left out of thought: and yet the Conſtitution points them out in the plaineſt poſſible manner. It fixes the duty where intereſt ſtrongly attaches it; and that is directly upon the Nobility.

As the body-guards are to the King, ſo are the Nobility to the Conſtitution. They are appointed the conſtant, perpetual, hereditary ſentinels and guardians; and herein, on this very point, conſiſts the principal utility of their order. To preſerve and hand down to poſterity every identical part of the Conſtitution, but moſt particularly the indiſpenſable equipoiſe in the three orders of the legiſlature, is not more their evident intereſt, than it is their firſt grand duty. Between the Crown and the Houſe of Commons, the Lords are the mediators. Encroachments of conſequence,

quence, on either ſide, endangers not only their property, their rights, and ſuperior privileges, but the abſolute extinction of their whole order. The internal peace of the country is at once their ſecurity and their advantage. To ſtand aloof therefore, and, with vacant indifference bordering upon ſtupidity, to witneſs the prevalence of royal or miniſterial influence over the Parliament of the people, is in the end to affix the ſeal to their own downfal. The appointment or temptation of places, ſinecures, and penſions, may, it is true, bias even a part of this ſuperior rank; but certainly not to the degree of totally ſubverting the main deſign of their hereditary titles. The ſituation of the kingdom would, in this caſe, be forlorn indeed. The people could then have no option, but, ere long, to take reform into their own hands: and fine work they would make of it. Revenge for the neglect would cauſe a ſore repentance when too late.

So different, however, is the opinion that is here entertained of the honour, independence, and judgment of our Nobility in general, that it is both hoped and believed that when the neceſſity of a reform in the Houſe of

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of

of Commons is once made obvious to their perception, they will not hesitate to take upon themselves their appointed task, and apply the proper remedies.

If doubts yet remain whether or not the period is arrived to take the matter into consideration, the clamour of the mass of the people, which has been calling aloud for some time past, must, upon mature reflection, soon dispel them. To prevent further disaffection, and replace that which has taken root, with attachment to the Constitution, is matter of no small import, and cannot be undertaken too early. Preventions are certainly preferable to cure.

To agree upon a specific plan seems to be the greatest difficulty. That which will cause the least deviation, and, at the same time, prove most effectual, must go nearest to meet the general wish: and it is upon this ground that the following outline is submitted.

Remember that the objects are merely to detach the influence of the Crown, and to shorten the term.

In order, therefore, to remedy the former, let us strike at once at the grand and principal cause;

cauſe ; that is, the preſent right of a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons during the enjoyment and holding of a place, penſion, or ſinecure in the State. Somewhere about one hundred and twenty-five Members are thus circumſtanced, and the attendance ſeldom more than three hundred. Now as there will ever be a diviſion of opinion even without influence, add the one hundred and twenty-five to either one ſide or the other, and it will be moſt likely to preponderate ; but when the expectants are alſo taken into the account, it amounts nearly to a certainty.

At all events, however, it is quite neceſſary that the Chiefs of all the principal lines of Government ſhould ſit in the Houſe of Commons, in order to explain their meaſures, and to take advice thereon. Further than this is neither juſt, neceſſary, nor admiſſible in a reform.

It is, therefore, propoſed, that twenty-five perſons of the body politic of Government ſhould be ſo eligible, and no more. This may be very eaſily regulated, and, when done, renders little more requiſite. But the right of election in the decayed boroughs may

alſo be either taken off, removed to large towns, or added to counties.

And here, as far as is immediately neceſſary to the attainment of the firſt object, thus plainly, without either difficulty or new principle, and compriſed in a few lines, behold this great buſineſs atchieved with the fulleſt poſſible effect.

Every further conſideration towards this point becomes merely ſecondary, and comparatively unimportant.

It is acknowledged, however, that it would undoubtedly be an improvement if the right of election for cities was confined to one and the ſame mode and limitation throughout the kingdom, with the ſingle exception of the metropolis, if found expedient; and one ſingle general rule of election alſo for borough towns. The counties require no alteration at all, the right being already equal and general for the whole in Freeholders as it ſhould be.

Influence being already got rid of, no increaſe in the number of voters would be of the ſmalleſt uſe in any ſhape. Indeed, thoſe of Weſtminſter, it is well known, are much too numerous already, and might, by this plan

plan, be very conſiderably circumſcribed (by fixing a certain rent and rate in the pariſh books as neceſſary for a qualification), without the ſmalleſt injury to the liberty of the ſubject.

In ſhort, the influence of the Crown over the Parliament of the people would, by the adoption of this meaſure, be ſo completely annihilated, as utterly to defy either continuance or recovery by any poſſible method that could be deviſed and conceived. So that whatever alteration might be deemed expedient reſpecting the manner or right of electing the repreſentatives, it neither need nor would form that bone of contention which muſt be the caſe in all other plans of reform.

As to the duration of Parliaments, inſtead of ſeven they may be reduced to the term of three years as formerly, which would be fully ſufficient for keeping the ſtaff in the hands of the people, more particularly as it is to be remembered, that all influence is already detached in the fulleſt extent.

A too great frequency in the return of elections, as annual or biennial Parliaments, would clearly prove a bane inſtead of an improvement; becauſe, if generally attended

by the electors, it muſt create a continual detrimental ferment, promote enmity and diſunion, and greatly diſturb the ſettled peace and order of the country; and if not attended by the electors (which the experience of all annual elections throughout the kingdom teaches us to believe), it muſt, in ſuch caſe, evidently produce a perpetual Parliament, which ſurely no native in his ſenſes would ever wiſh to ſee eſtabliſhed in Great Britain.

When, added to theſe reaſons, it is alſo conſidered that a triennial Parliament creates a principle neither new nor unconſtitutional, that at the ſame time that it is calculated to produce every deſirable benefit, no ill whatever can ariſe from this alteration, it will, doubtleſs, be allowed the beſt calculated term to meet the general wiſh, and (influence, as before obſerved being previouſly detached) the beſt adapted to render perfect ſatisfaction to all ranks and deſcriptions of people of any that can be conceived.

There will, doubtleſs, be ſome objections intereſtedly ſtarted againſt every deſign of ſuch nature that may be projected; but there certainly appears leſs reaſon for apprehenſion on that account from this ſimple clear method,

thod, than from any other that could be well thought of: for the main point here would only affect the preſent encroaching uſage of about one hundred perſons only. To be ſure, it would very likely be unpleaſant to, and might perhaps be called a deprivation of, the accuſtomed privileges of the executive body *in toto*; but this would in compariſon be playing off a mere farce. The principle of this improvement is already acknowledged by the Conſtitution in the moſt direct manner by the exiſting laws, which regularly ordain the vacation of all ſeats in Parliament upon becoming one of that body, by the appointment to any emolument therein; and it would be rather curious to ſee men, who are in the immediate action of receiving the pecuniary favours of the country, place themſelves in the unconſcionable ſituation of requiring the continuance of an injurious cuſtom, incompatible with the welfare of that State in whoſe ſervices they were thus doubly bounden: and it may, therefore well be taken for granted, that while the agents of Government, in whatever ſphere they might be, kept their places and appointments, Reaſon would juſtly ſeal their lips. This objection then is much too frivolous and ſlen-

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der to ſet up as a bar to this important attainment, which embraces the intereſt, the ſecurity, and the proſperity of this great community in general.

From the ſecondary cauſes too, that is, from the organization of a mode of generalizing the elections, and annihilating all abſurd inconſiſtent cuſtoms, other objections may alſo not improbably ariſe, according as it may touch the intereſts of particular individuals. The matter then comes at once to this: —Is it juſt, is it right, to ſuffer the partial to injure and abſolutely ſtand in the way of the general good? To admit this would be to undermine the maſſy fabric of political wiſdom, and ſhake the foundation of ſocial order. In a plan of reform, undertaken at the powerful call of the united voice of a nation, petty quibbles can by no means be admiſſible. The voice of the individual is drowned. The people muſt be heard. They muſt alſo be heard with attention. To ſatisfy their reaſonable claims is prudence, in its moſt amiable attire. To inſult them with the neglect of indifference, is that, which it will not be ſuppoſed the diſcernment and education of our Nobility capable of, when once properly ſatisfied that moderation in the public

expectation

expectation has taken place of extravagance, and reaſon rules the mind. It is in ſuch preſumption, therefore, that this outline of a plan for the reform of the Houſe of Commons, containing all that is needful to the purpoſe, is publicly recommended. Neceſſity evinces, circumſtances urge, and duty ſtrongly calls for the interference of our Nobility. It is an unwelcome taſk to point it out; but the office is certainly their's*. So undertaken, it will be in ſafe hands, and muſt prove ſucceſsful.

It does not, however, follow, that in calling upon theſe ſtationary ſentinels of the Conſtitution, an excluſion of every other intereſt is to be underſtood. No: on the contrary, it is devoutly to be hoped that every one, not blinded by prejudice, or deterred by futile imaginary apprehenſions, will cheerfully take part in their own cauſe, and unite in one general endeavour to fix this as the ſpecific plan to rally round, to the excluſion of all others of injurious tendency, in order to reſtore that confidence in the purity of Parliament neceſſary to ſatisfy the increaſing clamour of the

* If not by the Lords in their legiſlative capacity, by that extenſive influence they poſſeſs in their individual circles.

country;

country; and the further aſſurance of a wide extended concurrence is held, under the evidence that the benefits thus to be derived (at the ſame time that the operation ſtrikes at once at the root of the evil without either danger or difficulty) are equally attached to the peaſant as to the Prince, alike including all ranks and deſcriptions of people whatever, with the moſt perfect and ſatisfactory indiſcrimination.

To the final concluſion of theſe obſervations upon a reform of Parliament, one more remark is all that is here neceſſary, *viz.*

That when the groundwork of any Conſtitution combines a judicious attention to the intereſts and happineſs of every part of a community, and when its conſtruction is ſound, ſolid, well-adapted, and beneficial; let ſuch Conſtitution, of whatever denomination it may be, be perfectly held and maintained in its original purity, ſo that the ſame good qualities continue to be ſeen in it, and derived from it, and that Conſtitution, ſo preſerved, will aſſuredly ſhed the bright luſtre of exulting content upon its people, and, for any attack from them, muſt endure and proſper while this great globe of earth hath exiſtence.

So

So far, it is judged, we have gained two very material points of improvement in our political ſyſtem: firſt, a more lenient, conſtitutional, and effective manner of ſecuring an orderly reſpect to the laws and conſtituted authorities; and, in the ſecond place, the promulgation of a plan to reſtore that full confidence in the eſtabliſhed Government, which replaces diſaffection with attachment, and adds energy and vigour to all our undertakings. And now another ſubject of no leſs importance preſents itſelf, which is, in ſome meaſure, neceſſary to the laſting ſecurity of both.

The General Incloſure Bill, if not ſpeedily prevented by a juſt ſtatement of its true tendency, it is feared will ſhortly paſs into law almoſt without oppoſition. Very much miſtaken indeed is the public opinion upon this matter: and our legiſlature ſeem to be following up that opinion with a degree of thoughtleſſneſs not very flattering to their diſcernment. Is it poſſible they can be ignorant that, where new incloſures take place, the ground is

immediately broken up for corn? Certainly not. They conceive the additional growth of this article will prove advantageous in an increaſed exportation, at the ſame time that it will afford new employ to thouſands. And ſo far granted. But then at what expence are we about to obtain this? Abſolutely at no leſs than that of riſking the future probable ſtarvation not only of theſe ſame thouſands, but of the whole people collectively. And even this is not all; for there muſt alſo be ſuperadded that of ruinouſly deſtroying the very ſtaple manufacture of the country—the woollen trade. Good God! what an amazing want of foreſight! It muſt ſurely be univerſally known that the commons and waſtes conſtitute the grand, the indiſpenſable nurſery for the raiſing of our animal food. They may be alſo called too the nurſery of nurſeries, in the prodigious and immenſe quantity of that wholeſome nutriment, milk diet, that is ſo largely produced in the groſs from this beneficial ſource. Then add to this the uſeful articles of butter, cheeſe, and the like,

like, and it will altogether be found to amount to a high importance in the ſcale of our very exiſtence.

It muſt be particularly recollected, that it is not in the incloſures where the grand buſineſs of breeding and rearing is carried on: it is upon the commons, waſtes, and downs, where are thoſe numerous flocks and herds, which we ſee grazing and multiplying in prolific abundance upon the ſhort, ſweet, ſuitable herbage. Deprived of this encouragement to our farmers and breeders, and our ſtock muſt rapidly decreaſe into a ſcarcity fearful to think of. Is it poſſible, therefore, that any man can contemplate ſuch conſequence with either apathy or indifference? Where then ſhall we procure the rich abundant fleece for which England has been ſo famed of old, as to be ſought from all quarters of the world in its beautiful manufacture? To loſe this principal ſource of our wealth, and with it the employment of ſuch an immenſe multitude of hands, would be a deadly blow that never could be recovered. We ſhould find ourſelves much at a loſs to diſcover an advantage

that would compenſate the injury, or ſtand in any ſort of competition with ſo vaſt a conſequence. It is true we have had an unuſual ſcarcity of corn for the laſt year, and the mind of the country is ſtill ſtrongly impreſſed with the bias it has taken therefrom. But to ſuffer this temporary ſcarcity (greatly produced by an extraordinary drought, or, perhaps, by ſending more abroad than we ought to have done), to hurry us into an oppoſite extreme fraught with ſuch danger, is that ſort of conduct which muſt not be anticipated from the deliberate reflection of our legiſlators. They will, doubtleſs, remember the ſcarcity was that only of a ſingle year. Before that, there was abundance, and even more than abundance, for home conſumption; and if bread was then dear, exportation was the cauſe, not a deficiency in the growth. No man can, therefore, ſay that a Bill of general incloſure is neceſſary on the ſcore of deficiency. More corn might thereby be grown it is true; but no benefit would be derived to the public, in any decreaſe of price, from that circumſtance. Whenever it ſhould come down

down to the exportation limit, away it goes, and leaves the ſtock to provide againſt temporary ſcarcity, as ſmall as ever, and the price as high. To be ſure, it would produce an influx of money in favour of the kingdom. That, however, muſt flow comparatively into few hands, and the advantage be thus partial. And here it is wiſhed to be ſtrongly impreſſed on the perception of all the leading characters, and particularly upon Adminiſtration, that an entire attention to revenue, to the total excluſion of the convenience, ſatisfaction, and ability of the people, is neither juſt nor wiſe. Nothing ſo powerfully tends to attach and give content, as the keeping proviſions at a moderate price: and ſo *vice verſa*. By a continual advance, which, according to our preſent uſage, is in conſtant progreſſion, the contrary is certain: and whatever the public opinion may ſtill be upon the matter, this has been, and aſſuredly is, an undoubted defect in our ſyſtem, productive of both derangement and diſaffection. But, happily for us, the remedy is as eaſy as it is plain. For as it is obvious that it is not

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the deficiency of land under the plough, but entirely exportation, that keeps up the price, reduce therefore the exportation limit about five ſhillings per quarter on wheat, and other corn in proportion, and you will want no Incloſure Bill: that is to ſay, permit no wheat in particular to be ſent abroad, except when the current price here is under forty ſhillings the quarter. This might, perhaps, occaſion a trifling reduction of rent to the land-owner, whoſe tenants are rackrented; but whatever was loſt in this way, would be compenſated in the proportionable decreaſe of all their annual expences: for the effect of this meaſure would be extenſive in every direction, and cauſe a general correſponding reduction with that of food; and the benefit to be derived thereby flattering in the extreme to the community at large. The conſtancy of bread under ſixpence the quartern loaf muſt neceſſarily reduce the price of labour, and that the coſt of every other article in life: and then indeed might Britons rejoice in fulneſs and plenty. But as to the Incloſure

cloſure Bill, its tendency is widely different, as will now be further ſhewn.

It has been already ſtated, that it is not on the ground of a uſual deficiency of corn for home conſumption, that this Bill is brought into the Houſe of Commons, conſequently it muſt follow that we have a ſufficiency of land under the plough. When, therefore, we look at the preſent records of Parliament, and ſee under our preſent laws the prodigious increaſing number of private or partial Incloſure Bills that are now continually paſſing, ſo far from encouraging the further progreſs of incloſure by a general law for that purpoſe, it may not improbably be found neceſſary to check the rage which already takes place. Let thoſe who have ſtill a doubt on this point, aſk themſelves whether we have at the preſent moment too much land in paſture or meadow? and the queſtion will be anſwered on the inſtant by the late price of hay, fodder, and butcher's meat of every kind. In the name of God, what muſt be the conſequence then of the deprivation of all our breeding paſ-

tures,

tures, whereon the great ſtock of the country is fed and kept up to the highly requiſite ſtandard in numbers? Should Ireland, however, be adduced as a proof that no apprehenſion need to be entertained from the proſecution of this ſcheme, it is neceſſary to call to the public recollection, that the more humid atmoſphere, and moiſt rich nature of the ſoil, together with cuſtom, and the inferior population and luxury of that country, all unite and combine to cauſe meadows and paſtures for both breeding and fattening, to prevail as the principal huſbandry of Ireland. Whereas, on the contrary, in England, the quantity of land which is naturally adapted in quality and ſituation to theſe purpoſes is comparatively inſignificant to that which is better ſuited to the growth of corn, and therefore no availing influence can be drawn from this circumſtance.

It is well known by experience that farmers here are obliged to be bound down in their leaſes not to plough up even the fine old encloſed meadow or paſture grounds, the richeſt in herbage of any. What, therefore,

therefore, would be done with the new inclosures may be judged to a certainty. Freſh ſoil, by which is meant that which has been long down in meadow and paſture, when newly ploughed, always produces largely in corn; and this, with the effect of exportation, muſt outweigh every other conſideration. Intereſt will prevail. So that it is in vain to expect farmers to turn themſelves to the breeding of ſtock, without the ſtimulant of commons, waſtes, and downs. And theſe, once ploughed up, whatever might be the diſtreſsful conſequence, and however much wiſhed or wanted, they could not, under any courſe of huſbandry, recover their full natural ſweet herbage for near twenty years to come. In the mean time, it is rather more than doubtful the ſleek ſkin and plump ruddy viſage of Britons would experience a ſad change for the worſe. Our lank jaws and ſhrivelled appearance might ſcare ourſelves, though not our enemies. The roaſt beef of old England would no longer be the theme of our ſong. The only melancholy reſource would be in lamentation at our precipitancy and want of foreſight,

which muſt prove a ſorry relief to hunger and famine.

Yet this is but a faint ſketch of what we may expect to experience, if the General Encloſure Bill in queſtion ſhould unfortunately paſs into a law; and to obviate which it is therefore hoped theſe obſervations (in caſe of the failure of other more able oppoſers) may cauſe a timely intervention, to aſſiſt in warding off a misfortune of the firſt magnitude, from whence might not improbably be dated the ultimate ruin, and conſequent downfall of this comparative plentiful kingdom.

There is ſtill one more conſideration on the ſame ſubject, which preſſes ſtrongly on our feelings for a candid and liberal diſcuſſion, which is this: All who have now rights of common (among whom the cottagers are very numerous) will, it is underſtood, receive a proportionate ſhare of land correſponding with the extent of their right; and ſo far, it is granted, the preſent race of poor will be compenſated by this or ſome other equivalent. But then what is to become of the new race of all poſterior poor, who will by no means decreaſe in number by the

the operation of this Bill? It muſt be evident they will be totally deprived of an original eſtabliſhed legitimate privilege, and to them very high advantage, which the commons, waſtes, and downs have ever afforded to a multitude of this claſs of people. Numerous indeed are their numerous families, whoſe great ſupport are hence derived; inſomuch that a cottager may call theſe waſtes, from old and conſtant uſage, his true and native birth-right as a Briton. Hence then comes forward the material queſtion of conſcience, How far, or whether at all, the preſent holders are juſtifiable in accepting an equivalent to themſelves, at the expence of the total annihilation of a right, ſo near and dear to the poſterity of their order, as the matter now treating of?

It is true it does not follow, that becauſe a man is poor, he is entitled to a right of common; but then it is as true, that the laws of this country have inveſted him with the ſatisfaction of knowing that he may look up to that right, and, if he chuſes, to avail himſelf of it, by means of either renting or purchaſing an entitled cottage; the choice is at his own option, and under various cir-

cumſtances, particularly with a large increaſing family, that option may to him be invaluable and indiſpenſible. In ſhort, deprived of this principal aſſiſtance to their maintenance, and without further reſource of any kind during long and ſevere winters, he can only have recourſe to the pariſh, which muſt conſequently become incumbered with the whole family. Such then is the direct action of this Bill, that it will clearly go to create additional poor, and of courſe increaſe the rates of pariſhes in a very high degree.

Upon the whole, therefore, excluſive of the dangerous tendency explained in the preceding part of the diſcuſſion upon this ſubject, it really ſeems alſo to be an unwarrantable infringement upon the privileges, benefits, and birth-rights of a very numerous and uſeful body of the people; who certainly, while they demean themſelves orderly and peaceably, are entitled by a conſcientious claim to the attention and unceaſing protection of their ſuperiors. And when is alſo added to theſe objections, thoſe of an increaſe both of poor and poor's-rates, as well by the deprivation of the woollen manufacture,

manufacture, as by the natural operation of the bill, the meaſure altogether will be found ſo fraught with ills, of ſuch extenſive importance, that it will be dreadful to behold it receiving the ſanction of our Legiſlature; and which, therefore, all who hold the welfare and future ſecurity of their country dear, will, it is hoped, exert themſelves to prevent.

Having now ran over moſt of the oſtenſible conſiderations which affect the immediate intereſts of this kingdom, with the principal lines of preſent politics; there yet remains one, equal at leaſt, if not more than equal to any which have preceded, in the magnitude and extent of its influence upon every branch of our ſyſtem, which will now be entered upon; and which conſtitutes one of the principal cauſes of introducing theſe ſheets to the public notice, and that is the immediate urgent ſituation of our finances.

There has been very much ſaid, both in and out of Parliament, relative to the ſtoppage of the Bank; yet, notwithſtanding the long and able diſcuſſions it has received, the true and actual cauſe has not abſolutely been explicitly and perfectly ſtated to the people.

A national bank ſhould, beyond the ſmalleſt doubt, be as independant of the calls and influ-

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ence of Government as poſſible; in order to retain a fund and ſource of circulating credit for the benefit of commerce, as well as to prevent a total diſcomfiture and confuſion, when the circumſtances of a country may render that of its funds or Government ſecurities no longer available. Hence it is obvious, although indubitably well intended, the Company were certainly too liberal in their acquieſcence of grants to Adminiſtration; as the neceſſary return of the ſeven millions now about to be repaid, proves beyond diſpute. Notwithſtanding this, however, it is averred, in the moſt pointed manner, that it was not owing to any diſcredit which attached to the Bank in particular, that occaſioned the commencement of the run for ſpecie, and of courſe the ultimate neceſſary preventive reſtraint; for when it firſt began, no living ſoul doubted the validity of Bank notes in the leaſt; but the run once occaſioned, apprehenſion naturally ſucceeded, from the knowledge of the impoſſibility for an eſtabliſhment of that extenſive nature, to fulfil all its engagements in caſh.

Such being the caſe, it becomes perfectly clear that it was in fact neither more nor leſs than the deficiency of public ſecurity itſelf, and not that of the Bank, which pointedly produced the diſ-

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after. The dismal bird's-eye prospect, with ruin sufficiently legible in the back-ground, forwarded by the alarm of invasion; caused, with many, that sort of despair which involves in it a total distrust of all credit whatever, insomuch as to have destroyed all confidence in factitious property.

In this situation, of course, coin became the general object of attainment, and wherever that could be come at, whether from the hands of private bankers or the Bank itself, was matter of indifference; and their sufficiency or insufficiency, in other respects, entirely out of the question. Actual property, specie, was the object; and of course all the sources from whence it could be procured, of which the Bank was the principal, must quickly become exhausted.

This, rendered still more effectual by the money exported, was the grand and fundamental cause; which must, under similar circumstances, ever produce a similar effect.

And hence it is much too obvious, that until peace is restored to reinstate confidence, the smallest flurry, either from the apprehension of invasion or otherwise, cannot fail to reproduce the same distressing operation, unless very different

ent methods are taken to prevent it, from thoſe hitherto made uſe of.

That ſuch prevention becomes a matter of the firſt rate importance, requires no great conjuration to diſcover; and the difficulty of aſcertaining the means, keeps at leaſt full pace with its conſequence. Under the preſent exigencies into which the kingdom is brought, by this calamitous war, no common efforts can produce that effect. Every experiment, which applies to the Bank merely, is to all intents and purpoſes ſuperficial. Our endeavours muſt go far beyond that. They muſt take in the whole ſyſtem of property, or they do nothing. To revive and preſerve inviolate the full and continued credit of this indiſpenſible eſtabliſhment, we muſt ſtrike deep at the very root of its debaſement. We muſt reſtore univerſal confidence. We muſt give new life, new ſtamina, to invigorate the general mind with an irreſiſtible ſenſe of ſecurity in all the various channels through which factitious money flows. Here is the grand aim, the point upon which all depends.

In order to accompliſh this, therefore, it is neceſſary to begin with Government ſecurities; and, in ſo doing, a ſucceſsful beginning will be found at once to prove the happy wiſhed for end;

end; the great effect inſtantly ſpreading through every inferior channel indiſcriminately, whether corporate or individual; for certainly, ſo long as fears and doubts continue to hang on national credit, their proportion muſt alike be imparted to that of all other concerns, of what nature ſoever. The property of every perſon throughout the kingdom, whether in their ſingle capacity, whether in private or corporate company, banking, commercial, or otherwiſe, becomes inevitably affected, even to the extent of landed eſtate. And hence it is evident, that nothing ſhort of the reinſtatement of all Government engagements in their uſual and accuſtomed value, can poſſibly ſuffice, or be of any effectual avail.

Reſtore then the credit of the public funds; reſtore ſolidity to the pecuniary engagements of Adminiſtration; at the ſame time holding the Bank ſacred from their touch, and all doubts of this great national ſource of circulation are at once diſpelled; all run for ſpecie completely done away; and the ſtability of this chartered inſtitution, neceſſary to the exiſtence of the State, permanently ſecured, and finally ſealed with univerſal content and ſatisfaction.

Even to attempt, much more to complete an object ſo difficult and extraordinary, ſeems truly

however to be an Herculean taſk; for ſuch is indeed the enormous weight of the national debt, that even peace itſelf will by no means ſingly accompliſh it. The numerous taxes which will be requiſite to wind up the large arrears of the war, muſt unavoidably prove ſo extremely burthenſome, when laid on, as to multiply obſtacles (which at preſent are well nigh inſurmountable) in ſuch a high degree, that even then Government ſecurities will ſcarcely be able to bear up againſt ſo powerful and prodigious a drain of intereſt.

So that diſtruſt will long, very long, pervade the people, and the leaſt flurry renew the danger; and conſequently, ſtill more, much more, than peace, is yet wanting to our purpoſe.

But it is poſſible, alſo, that (however much to be deſired) reſpite from war may not be attainable for ſome time to come; and, as what is done ſhould be done quickly, we muſt endeavour not of will, but of neceſſity, to ſurmount all difficulties.

As, however, a diſcuſſion of this nature requires to be proceeded in with a clearneſs and ſincerity perfectly void of deceit, or keeping back any truth which may be attached to it, it may be here well to caution the ſtock-holder not

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to take alarm at the following explanation, which on proceeding, he will perceive to conſtitute a material ground whereon to build the reinſtatement of his preſent depreciated property. He will find the deduction ultimately to his advantage.

That the funding ſyſtem is not certainly that which a wiſe people would willingly adopt, as a ſalutary means of furniſhing the expences of their Government, is demonſtrable to the evidence of the meaneſt capacity. For when extended upon a large ſcale, and it is in its very nature calculated to become ſo, there is not, in the whole catalogue of political evils, one miſchievous tendency of which it is not capable. It firſt encourages war, bloodſhed, and deſolation by a deſtructive facility of raiſing money. Next it perpetuates a high and increaſing degree of annual expenditure, until ultimate ruin follows the adoption, and in its courſe diſperſes its baneful operation with a moſt liberal hand. Oppreſſion in every direction marks its way, and is the prominent feature it exhibits. For what by the unavoidable increaſe of office upon office, and officers upon officers of every deſcription and denomination, and what by the conſequent train of expectants and dependants, to all intents

and purpoſes out of number, that are ſo created, ill diſpoſed Governments are thus enabled, at will, to trample under foot the privileges of the people; and the more the ſyſtem is extended, the eaſier the ſtep from liberty to deſpotiſm. Not only ſo, but millions of perſons, whoſe property is in the ſtocks, are alſo held in public bondage let the meaſures of Government preſs ever ſo hardly upon their rights. They are both tongue tied and hand tied. Their property is at ſtake. This ſyſtem alſo ſows, in a wide extended caſt, the certain ſeeds of diſcontent and diſaffection until they grow to full maturity in endleſs taxes, heavy duties, and Exciſe laws, the internal curſe of nations. That important conſequence too the high price of proviſions, and every other article in life, are the direct inevitable fruits of this moſt ſtupid cuſtom of finance, thus ſetting up an inſurmountable impediment and bar to the continuance and proſperity of our manufactures, and ſo, in the end, decreaſing our exports, the very ſource of the influx of wealth; and, in ſhort, by theſe, with other means too tedious to mention, it oſtenſibly becomes the grand fountain of miſery and diſtreſs to the general multitude.

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That enlightened nations, therefore, ſhould continue this bane to their welfare and happineſs, may certainly ſeem extraordinary to thoſe who do not conſider the extent and power of ancient cuſtom upon the mind of every community; which, indeed, is almoſt rendered impervious to conviction, by the continual force of an education biaſſed both in habit and ſentiment. Under this contemplation, however, our admiration preſently ceaſes; more particularly when it is alſo conſidered how few there are who think and act from themſelves. Opinions of any kind, long admitted and early imbibed, are ſeldom ſcrutinized; but important political practices ſo circumſtanced, it is held almoſt ſacrilege to inveſtigate; and ſo it is that errors of the firſt magnitude are handed down to the courteſy of poſterity.

To this, therefore, is to be attributed, in a very conſiderable degree, our continuance to raiſe the annual expenditures of war by the fatal means of loan. And another cauſe is, the heedleſs eaſe with which money to any amount is procured in this way. Give the lenders from fifty to one hundred and fifty per cent. advantage, as at preſent, according to circumſtances, and comply with their demands, and whatever the ultimate conſequence

ſequence may be, no ſum is too large to be attainable. Profit is the object of the lender, and that of the Miniſter to ſatisfy the inſtant exigency. Taxes likewiſe are eaſily laid on, and the only difficulty conſiſts in the patience of the people to pay them. While that continues, without reference to further conſequences, the end, to a heedleſs Government, is anſwered.

It is now then neceſſary to open the eyes of the public, to one of the greateſt errors that is ſo widely extant in every circle without diſtinction, as to form, one general moſt important miſconception; and that is, the univerſal deteſtation in which annual requiſitions of money without intereſt is particularly held by the people of Great Britain. What adds too to the peculiarity of the circumſtance is, that when the queſtion is put to one or all, whether they are not perfectly willing, and do not conceive it to be juſt, right, and neceſſary that each ſhould contribute their quota, according to ability, to defray the national expenditure, they immediately pronounce an affirmative, pointedly contradictory of the former opinion. To unravel this ſtrange contradiction, ſo as to produce conſiſtency, would equally puzzle the wiſdom of either aſtronomer, aſtrologer, philoſopher, or politician. It is neither

ther more nor leſs than conſummate folly dreſſed in the garb of the would-be Patriot.

Good God! is it not amazing that men ſhould have preferred the payment of ſixteen millions a year, merely for intereſt of debt, to the original application of it during the urgencies of war, towards the actual expences of their country? It is impoſſible to continue any longer blind to this error. So powerful is the conviction of truth that it muſt force its way to perception. If the eſtabliſhed ſurplus million of revenue, will pay off the old debt of two hundred and forty millions, in the courſe of ſixty years from its origin, what amount are the public loſing in ſuch time by the conſtant annual drain of ſixteen millions? exactly 3,840,000,000. Or let the amount that has been appropriated from the commencement of the funding ſyſtem to the diſcharge of intereſt incurred thereby, be calculated in the ſame manner, with intereſt upon intereſt, and the produce would aſtoniſh and exceed all human belief. Yet, whatever that amount may be, exactly ſo much has this ſyſtem coſt the nation.

How infinitely preferable, therefore, would it not have been to have raiſed merely the money wanted, by requiſition proportionate to property and income. That is to ſay, by a war tax, which

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raiſes within the year the whole annual expenditure thereof. This might, it is true, bear hard upon the kingdom for the time, but it would be only temporary; there would be no intereſt to pay; and, upon the concluſion of the war, joy and content would reign unalloyed by taxes or impoſts of any kind that would injuriouſly affect the people.

War being, at all times, a moſt direful evil, it is therefore highly fitting the effect ſhould be felt on the inſtant; as that would prove, in the end, the ſureſt means of warding off the calamity in future. War or no war, however, whatever money is wanting for the national expences of the year, be the ſum much or little, within the year it ſhould be conſtantly raiſed, not borrowed. When the annual produce of the capital of the country will not ſuffice, it ſhould be taken from the capital itſelf. The ultimate ſaving to the people would thereby be immenſurable. Can any thing be more abſurdly farcical than the expectation of intereſt for money furniſhed for the public expenditure? Was every perſon to pay their due proportion, no ſuch abſurdity would exiſt. The notion of lightening the burthen in time of war, and appropriating it to that of peace, in endleſs accumulation, is both weak and deſtructive in the extreme; for, inſtead of temporary, it inſti-

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tutes incumbrances, not only continual, but neceſſarily increaſing, and ruinous alſo, and of which the original application of the money to the current expences, freed from the drain of intereſt, would not have amounted to a decimal part.

But to thoſe who look for the diſcharge of our preſent national debt within the term of fifty years, it is neceſſary to aſk, what new ſums they imagine we ſhall incur by various wars in that time? The average of eight or ten years peace is all which can ever be reckoned upon. And each war muſt infallibly add to the continued increaſe of price of every article whatever. So that, at the very leaſt, ſeven or eight hundred millions of money will be the new debt which will be incurred between this and then, if we continue in the ſame courſe. Such is the nature of the funding ſyſtem which has been adopted and purſued by this country ſo long, until by its natural quality of increaſing, we are now brought to the brink of deſtruction by the immenſe debt and calamity that increaſe has entailed; inſomuch that, at the preſent moment, the value of the 3 per cent. conſol. ſtock is reduced from 100l. to the alarming decayof 48l. 10s. The profit too, which Government was obliged to give upon the laſt loan of money, was about

125l. capital ſtock per cent. that is to ſay, for every 100l. money, the lender obtained about 225l. 3 per cent. ſtock; and ſuch an enormous increaſe of capital debt as this muſt occaſion, certainly calls aloud for further prevention.

In ſuch ſituation then, to talk of the great and inexhauſtible reſources of this kingdom, without endeavouring to apply them, is at leaſt inconſiſtent, if not criminal. This is the time which requires their being brought forth. The run upon the Bank has been greatly produced by the neglect of relieving the depreciated ſtate of the national funds; for to have continued the ſyſtem of borrowing under ſuch depreſſion, was ſo clearly the manifeſtation of approaching ruin, that it is not to be wondered at the people took the alarm, and ſought ſpecie with avidity wherever it could be come at.

But another powerful conſideration now preſents itſelf, which is, that in ſuffering this immoderate decay in the value of funded property, you depart from one of the firſt maxims in the political ſcience, that of preſerving the accuſtomed level and equality between real and eſtabliſhed property; the neceſſity of which is ſo highly important, that its omiſſion muſt conſtantly throw every thing into confuſion. When the

the conſols are below 60 per cent. they produce a ſuperior intereſt to the legal rate of the kingdom, and conſequently put a ſtop to the circulation of all private truſt; for by this only five per cent. can be obtained according to law, whereas the ſtocks produce much more. The whole commercial world, and many other people likewiſe, become ſorely injured by a conſequent ſtoppage of circulation, and the want and diſtreſs ariſing from the deficiency ſoon becomes general, and increaſes with the continuance, until a total want of confidence pervades every channel of paper currency.

In weighing, however, the neceſſity of preſerving the juſt balance between property of different deſcriptions, another queſtion alſo ariſes upon the ſcore of juſtice, right, and equity. The value of all real, compared with that of funded eſtate, is at the preſent hour out of every ſort of proportion. For inſtance, the value of land has experienced no diminution in price from the war. From twenty-ſeven to thirty years purchaſe is ſtill the demand for every landed eſtate; and, in ſome inſtances, it has produced even more. So that the land-owner experiences neither a deficiency of principal or income, at the very time when the ſtock-holder

has abſolutely loſt near half his capital. Can this be called either a wiſe or juſt practice in an equitable ſyſtem of governing? Is it right that one property ſhould loſe half, while the other retains its full value? Or ſhall one man loſe half his eſtate, in a public cauſe, and another nothing? This ſurely ſeems the ſummit of unreaſonableneſs, and is neither to be juſtified by circumſtances or argument.

Indeed the caſe is ſuch as to warrant the aſſertion in its moſt extenſive latitude, that the preſent debt of this kingdom is grown much too large for the capacities of continuance; and therefore ſo far from proceeding in further additions thereto, by a perſeverance in the ſyſtem of funding, the enormous load ſhould be inſtantly narrowed within ſuch a compaſs as the people can bear, without detriment or danger to the State. The injurious low price of the ſtocks proclaim this aloud with an unerring voice. It is a fact which demonſtrates itſelf beyond the power of refutation.

Thus warned then by certain poſitive appearances, not to relieve the preſent, and ward off the dreadful conſequences which approach, would be that ſort of negligence as to be abſoultely unpardonable.

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The attempt, however, muſt by no means be ſuperficial. We muſt probe the wound to the bottom, or diſappointment and confuſion may otherwiſe prove the reſult.

It is well known that from the commencement of the funding ſyſtem to this very hour, it has always been invariably declared, underſtood, and univerſally admitted, that the whole real property of the country, whether landed or otherwiſe, conſtituted the real *bona fide* ſecurity for all monies lent to Government for the public uſe. And this is not to be conſidered as mere words void of any capable meaning, but to be held ſacred, as having been firmly bound by the plighted honour and good faith of every Adminiſtration, of every leading man individually and collectively, and of every Parliament, the Lords, Commons, the King and all.

To put forth the breath of ſlander by the ſmalleſt doubt, or in any ſhape to impeach ſuch high honour and ſanction by diſtruſt, therefore, would indeed be to commit a crime againſt the glory of Great Britain. Taking this ſtatement then for granted, the particular time for its application, becomes the next queſtion.

It will be readily allowed that, under any probable

probable circumſtance in which the country may require an execution of this principle, difficulties muſt preſent themſelves in various directions; but it muſt alſo be undeniably evident that the greater the incumbrance of debt, the more ſuch difficulties become multiplied; and, further than this too, it muſt be equally ſo, that funded property may increaſe, and arrive at ſuch an enormous amount, as to render this ſacred pledge of ſecurity a mere phantom of chicanery, void equally of honour, efficacy, or practicability. To prevent, therefore, ſuch a fatal conſequence (a degradation too infamous in the breach of faith for the noble ſpirit of Britons to ſuffer), is now the immediate purpoſe.

To the preſent debt of four hundred millions, the ſecurity in queſtion may perhaps, with good management, be ſo applicable as to reduce the enormity of the amount within ſuch bounds as may be judged prudent and ſafe to remain. So overgrown, however, is the accumulation of ſtock already, that to pretend to the reduction of the whole of it, would not only be highly miſchievous, but utterly impracticable. What then muſt be the caſe, if ſuffered to go on in progreſſive increaſe till it arrives at the extent of two hundred millions more? And if no prevention

vention is uſed in the courſe of ten or twelve years, it will aſſuredly become ſo. It is dreadful to contemplate the conſequence.

From hence, therefore, it can ſurely be no difficult matter to perceive that the preſent is the preciſe period of time to ſeek ſhelter from the gathering ſtorm, under the foſtering wings of this ſalutary preſerver. And in order to accompliſh ſo deſirable an end, it is perfectly clear that a very large ſum of money muſt be taken from all real eſtate and trading income, to apply to the immediate reduction of the national debt. And this, to be at all effectual and ſerviceable, cannot poſſibly, under the exiſting imperious ſtate of affairs, be leſs than 100,000,000 ſterling, ſo that by taking from the ſcale which is too heavy, and placing it in that which is too light, the juſt and neceſſary equipoiſe may yet be reſtored, although certainly not without occaſioning ſome degree of temporary diſtreſs.

Now then with the preſent price of conſols at 48, and the proſpect of falling lower and lower while the war continues, if the ſtockholder made 65 per cent. of three-eights parts of his funded eſtate, and 100 per cent. of the remaining five-eights parts, his conſcience ſhould, doubtleſs, be completely ſatisfied, ſuppoſing the

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ſame proportion to run through every other Government ſtock. Lay out, therefore, the 100,000,000 in the purchaſe of ſtock at 65, and it buys up 153,000,000 11-13ths of the national debt; which would be ſuch a glorious reduction of this bane to our comfort, as to ſet Great Britain firmly upon her legs again, and raiſe the remaining ſtock to the full price of 100 per cent. To attain ſuch an advantage would obviouſly be, of all things upon earth, the moſt deſirable for this country, now, as it were, proſtrate, and exploring her way in darkneſs and embarraſſment. And if we are true to ourſelves and our own intereſt, it is abſolutely to be done by one vigorous and determined effort. The ſum is great to be ſure intrinſically; yet, when compared with the vaſt and immenſe combined wealth of the kingdom, in capital and trading income, which may be computed together at full twenty times as much or more, it is nearly loſt in the reviving contemplation. Such a draft from the country in one year is certainly a new thing, and may ſtagger the belief of many reſpecting the poſſibility of its accompliſhment. But let it be recollected that it is the particular intereſt of every one indiſcriminately who own property, to exert themſelves to the utmoſt, in order to

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preſerve internal peace and quietneſs. Their whole fortunes are at ſtake; and ſurely there can be no doubt that it is better to ſacrifice an inconſiderable part than the whole, particularly when it is conſidered that it is in fact no ſacrifice at all; for in the event of things remaining in *ſtatu quo*, it is but an anticipation of what a few years of additional taxes will amount to. And the conſequent decreaſe in price of all articles of life too would likewiſe nearly produce an equivalent, and, in the courſe of time, more than an equivalent; ſo that it is equally to the advantage of that property it takes from, as well as that to which it gives ſecurity and permanence.

But the intereſt of the capital of the kingdom will not in this caſe ſuffice—we muſt poſitively have recourſe to the capital itſelf of real eſtate; the rental of which is eſtimated at 30,000,000 per annum, and at thirty years purchaſe, produces a capital of 900,000,000. Take, therefore, one fifteenth part of this, ſo proportioned only as to bear lightly upon thoſe of ſmall fortune in regular gradation, and it gives 60,000,000. As many, however, might be at a loſs for ready money to pay their quota, the Bank ſhould in this caſe furniſh it by notes, on the ſecurity of

ſuch a proportion of their eſtates (pointed out by the owners at their own free choice) as, by fair appraiſement, to cover the ſum advanced; and if not repaid to the Bank with intereſt in the courſe of two, three, or four years, to be then ſold to the beſt bidder, and the ſurplus, if any, returned to the proprietor. As to the trading capital, that muſt not be touched. But the income ariſing from trade in general in every point of view muſt undoubtedly contribute; and the rate at which to fix the payment might be for an income of

£.		£.	s.
100	per annum, the ſum of	2	10
1000		100	0
2000		400	0
3000		800	0

and ſo on, with due regard to proportion, in all intermediate profits of trade. By this means the remaining 40,000,000 might certainly be collected without injuring, in any material degree, the general commerce of the kingdom. The aſcertainment of the quantum here might be by the oath of the individual, under a large pecuniary penalty, excluſive of the ſtatute of perjury; and

and thus happily might this grand buſineſs be finally accompliſhed.

The meaſure is ſtrong moſt certainly, and ſuch as we ſhould not willingly adopt where circumſtances were leſs preſſing; but conſidering that it is only for one ſingle year, conſidering alſo the extreme urgency of our ſituation, and likewiſe that as long as the great debt remains undiminiſhed, the people at large are groaning under oppreſſion, while the country is neither capable of exertion, nor the means of commanding attachment, ſupport, or ſecurity, it muſt be evident that we are not at our own diſpoſal in opinion; we have no choice but either to act with energy in ſupport of that which will evidently ſave us from deſtruction, or ſink at once, with ſullen apathy, into the opening gulph of irretrievable ruin.

This plan, once entered upon, not a ſhilling more ſhould, upon any account, be borrowed upon further loan; but the remaining debt be left to be brought up gradually by the excellent eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund. Then indeed away with runs upon the Bank; its credit would be ſealed:—away with lamentations and deſpondency: they would no more be heard of.

Serenity would follow, and loyalty and confidence reaſſume their ſway.

It will now be generally ſuppoſed that what has been already recommended is the very utmoſt ſtretch of pecuniary reſource of which Great Britain can poſſibly be capable; but the fact is abſolutely otherwiſe.

Large indeed as the ſum of 100,000,000 is to be taken from the country in one year, yet, God be thanked! ſuch is the luxuriant wealth of this kingdom, that even ſtill more than this might be obtained, if judged well to embrace the ſuitable expedients which preſent themſelves for the purpoſe. This aſſertion may perhaps be doubted by ſome, and by others pronounced impoſſible. It may be aſked, where is the good fortune to be found? how is it to be done? and what are the ſubſtances, the materials, and the tools which can poſſibly work this beneficial deed? As, however, they are not to be employed or wrought upon here, having already furniſhed a ſufficiency, it will only be ſhortly anſwered: The Church, the foreſt, and the Crown lands. From theſe ſources a very important ſum of money might alſo be certainly procured, which would now, or will at any future

ture period, ſtand in farther aid of renovating and eſtabliſhing a ſound and independent ſtamina for the baſis of our political exiſtence.

The funding ſyſtem has, it is true, here been made rather free with. It has been ſet in its true light, and expoſed in its true colours, in order to ſhew, in the firſt place, to Government the certain evil of its continuance, that, by timely warning, it may be renounced for ever from the practice of this country; and, in the next place, to ſhew to the people the neceſſity of coming forward like men, convinced of the error of that ſyſtem, to ſupport the Conſtitution with zeal and timely effect, inſomuch that in lieu of increaſing the exceſſive burthens which they are no longer capable of bearing up againſt, their much miſtaken antipathy againſt requiſition and contribution may be utterly foregone, and the inſtitution of this preferable principle be adopted, as well for the preſent as for the future ways and means of raiſing money for the public expenditure of the kingdom.

Having now then ſufficiently ſhewn the capability of financial arrangement to ſtem the rapid torrent which threatens ſo ſtrongly to overwhelm us, and having alſo gone through all the

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eſſential lines of politics which can any way tend to preſerve the ſhaken fabric of our glorious Conſtitution, the Author ſubmiſſively throws himſelf upon the liberality of his countrymen, and hopes he ſhall ſtand excuſed in taking the liberty to exhort the Adminiſtration and their adherents moſt cautiouſly to withhold themſelves from all ſcurrility and exaſperating expreſſion toward thoſe who happen to differ from them in opinion, and particularly ſuch of the leading characters whoſe fortune, rank, and reſpectability entitle them to be conſidered as men moſt highly intereſted in their country's welfare, and whoſe honour and loyalty it can be nothing leſs than ſacrilege to blow the ſmalleſt breath of doubt upon.

To the Oppoſition and Whig Club the Author alſo moſt humbly preſumes to recommend one determined impaſſable line of moderation, joined to a ſtrict and conſtant adherence to principles perfectly conſtitutional, that ſo the preſent ſharpened edge of political rancour may be happily blunted, and the community at large be left unimpaſſioned to judge fairly of the title and claims of each party upon their favour, patronage, and ſupport. And, laſt of all, the Author

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further begs leave emphatically to exhort the people in general to peace, good order, and reſpect for the laws and conſtituted authorities at home, and the Government in particular, to uſe every conſiſtent endeavour to put an honourable end to this deſtructive war, and this done, to keep at peace with all the world; ſo that thus, finally, an indiſſoluble ſeal may be joyfully affixed to the Political Salvation of Great Britain.

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further begs leave emphatically to exhort the people in general to peace, good order, and respect for the laws and constituted authorities at home, and the Government in particular, to use every constitutional endeavour to put an honourable end to this destructive war, and this done, to keep at peace with all the world; to that timely, unremitting zeal may be joyfully attributed to the Political Salvation of Great Britain.

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